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given by Gifford Pinchot in his recent speech at St. Paul: "The realities of the regular political game lie far beneath the surface; many of the issues advanced are mere empty sound; while the issues really at stake must be sought deep down in the politics of business—in politics for revenue only." This does sound as though Mr. Pinchot believed the people were getting badly fooled. Anyway, all of us know that the democratic party in this country is popularly symbolized by an ass. And the wise ones know that Demos himself will be practically as helpless as the ass—helpless to throw off the harness by which he is made to haul heavy burdens for his drivers, whether hitched to the republican, democrat or socialist cart, until he learns to make his own harness, put it on to suit himself and be his own driver. He must look to himself for deliverance. So long as he builds his hopes on parties, or party leaders, he violates the democratic principle and will surely betray himself. And those vociferous "democrats," self-styled, who teach hero-worship instead of self-reliance, blatantly denouncing the "isms," tirelessly exhorting to the strenuous life, cautiously avoiding an irrevocable step when the time comes for decisive action, and straddling the issues when loyalty to professions involves risk of popularity—such leaders will never help Demos to solve his problems of self-government. Their answer to urgent questionings from the people will continue to be, "God knows" and "Don't go to extremes." But a great light is dawning. The people are rapidly learning that the way to show what they want and get what they want is direct legislation. They are learning that the democratic meaning of the initiative, referendum and recall is this, that every citizen and group of citizens shall have a fair chance to express their wish and their choice. This is the ideal democracy—that just organization of society that makes brotherly provision for protest even from the humblest member who is hampered or offended by the existing status. Certainly anything that falls short of this should be challenged as perpetual occasion for revolt. For the ideal democracy is vital to the problem of knowing what the people really want. And it is equally vital to the problem of getting what they want. For the emphatic and unmistakable expression of the will of the people (which is obtainable only through genuine democracy) is itself the best guaranty of democracy's triumph,—of doing what the people want done. Its verdict commands the respect of the world. Tyrants fear it and study to capture its seeming sanction. Its authority is august. It stands for an axiomatic right to decide public issues. Thus the voice of the people becomes the voice of God. Let democrats, then, begin at once the work of emancipation by putting into practice the ideal democracy of the initiative, referendum and recall in every field where it can be applied—the club, the business association, and citizens meeting. The democratic function can not be too often or too thoroughly exercised. Do this, and the people will begin progressively, to be their own masters—to know what they want and how to get it.

J. T. Ellis, Clarksville, Mo.—I agree with Dr. J. S. Wailes of Mystic, Ga., in every word he writes on the question. I quote his last sentence: "We have been fiddling for self-government for 135 years, have we made any progress?" Have we made any progress? I answer, No, we have retrograded. One hundred and thirty-five years ago our public men were men of honor. What are they today? With rare exceptions, corpora-

tion tools. What are our United States courts? Four-fifths of them have been corporation lawyers, selected by corporations, endorsed by corporation presidents and confirmed by a corporation dominated house of lords, our United States senate. I wonder at The Commoner publishing the doctor's letter. For more than two and a half years I have advocated and asked The Commoner to advocate and demand the initiative, referendum and power of recall. I also demanded that United States senators, United States judges and postmasters be elected by the people, but The Commoner didn't take to it like a duck to water. Our weekly or daily press give their readers little or no insight into the bills pending before congress and this is one reason that the people don't get what they want. Why was it that congress didn't increase the postage on second class mail matter? Because our magazines raised a howl, and their readers covered Weeks up with their protests, and this bill or proposition of Taft's never materialized. If our press would expose obnoxious bills they would go the same way the postal increase proposition went. Why doesn't our democratic daily press expose obnoxious bills? Because nine-tenths of them are engaged in some graft scheme of their own. What I stand for: First, initiative and referendum platform. Second, the election of United States senators and judges by direct vote. Judges to be elected for a limited term not exceeding six years; minor judges and postmasters to be elected by the community they serve. Third, deprive the president or governor of the appointive power, other than his private secretary. Fourth, a constitutional convention to revise our constitution. Fifth, the elimination of our United States senate, or house of lords (the trusts' nest). Sixth, the railroads holding charters from states shall be controlled by states and not by the general government.

J. H. Bally, Conway, Ark.—In answer to the question. They really get what they vote for and ought to have it. They vote for a wage system and reap slaves. Give us socialism and the people will rule.

C. W. Staples, Osceola, Wis.—I have been a subscriber since volume one, number one, and hence fail to see the sense of "making so much ado about nothing," as the two items in your paper. No. 1. If the people rule, why of course they do not rule and consequently can not get what they want. Neither the democrats or republicans will give the people rule. Both old parties are controlled by the interests. No. 2. Of course not, but the trusts are only a part of the government, and the part is never greater than the whole. The trust is a good thing for those who own the trust, as the socialists advise, all of us will be benefited by the trust. The government can control the trust, but it must be by forming a trust large enough to absorb the smaller one. It appears to me that the socialists are the progressive people nowadays. If the democrats would take up some of their most progressive platforms, with our present organization we could win the earth.

Peter A. Cool, New York.—First, because the people are slow on the matter of primaries and caucuses where men are nominated for the various offices. Second, because the liquor dealers and brewers generally attend the primaries and caucuses and are in at the beginning where candidates are discovered and nominated. The people become aroused when it is too late to change the candidates. Both party conventions have been managed by representa-

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